his father's brother's daughter is held as an inexorable 582
rule, it can be seen that marriages must be arranged
between pairs of brothers and sisters who are cousins to
each other. Thus, one's father and father's brother are
married to his mother and mother's sister respectively,
and the mother's brothers and father's sisters make up
third and fourth couples. If two things are envisaged, 428
patrilocal residence and Islamic inheritance, it can be 582
appreciated in the first regard that both the paternal 604
and maternal aunts are parties to an individual's residence, [591]
the first, the wife of the mother's brother, before she
is married, and the second, the wife of the father's brother,
after her wedding. Both paternal and maternal aunts are
described by the same kinship term, xiik. On the other [601]
hand, the paternal and maternal uncles are differentiated,
called mam and khal respectively. The first lives under
the parental roof of the individual concerned, and the
latter marries this uncle's daughter. The maternal uncle,
as has been seen, rarely, if ever, lives in the same house
as his married sister, and in the system imagined here,
one cannot marry his daughter. As far as inheritance is
concerned, it has been noted that the property is divided,
each son receiving a share and each daughter a half-share.
If there are offspring, a man cannot claim any part of the
estate of his maternal uncles or aunts. If, however, he is
married to the daughter of a paternal uncle, his wife
receives a half-share of her father's property, just as his
sister, wed to the son of the paternal uncle, is given a

half-shares of the holdings of his father. Such a system 428
is immediately divergent, because, although there is an 582
exchange of marriages between cousins in one's own generation, 604
the strains divide in the next. A man's children must
intermarry with those of his brother, and would not, for
example, espouse those of his cousins. The larger proportion
of the property, the full male shares, follow the
same divergent lines.

Such an idealized system, however, does not seem to 582
exist. A man is permitted to marry any of his other
cousins, the daughters or his paternal aunt, maternal
uncle, or maternal aunt, or, as often happens, can take a
wife completely unrelated to him. In Rowandux, unlike
certain other groups reported in the Middle East, there
does not appear to be any hierarchy of preference among
the cousins after the daughter of the father's brother. It
was not possible to compile a list of marriages extensive
enough to permit definitive comment on the relative fre-
quency of these five types of marriage. Nevertheless, from
examples, there appeared to be a high percentage of matches
between unrelated persons. Coupled with this was the in-
ability of most persons in the town to name their relatives
beyond their grandparents, uncles and aunts, first cousins,
and immediate family. This group, incidentally, corresponds
closely with that outlined as making up the mal or "house" 596
in its most extensive sense. In addition, they were able
to name the parents, some of the uncles, aunts, brothers,
and sisters of their wives. A scattering of the in-laws of

to replace the boy he had lost. Women share as much as their husbands in this desire. Lali Khan was so stricken by the death of Isma'il Beg, her son, that she made her mourning perpetual. If, for some reason, a man has no son, he often turns to those of his brother or sister, showering them with affection and gifts. Girls, of course, share in the love of their parents and do not receive treatment which would cause them to be too jealous of their brothers, but never acquire the standing of a male. The sarcophagus of Isma'il Beg has flowers placed next to it daily, and an animal, whose flesh is distributed to the poor, is slaughtered in his memory almost every week. In contrast, the son of Shakir Effendi pointed out the grave of his daughter who had died in infancy to visitors by throwing a pebble at it.

The third emphasis is that placed on seniority within the family. The male usually takes precedence over the female, and the eldest does the same over those younger than himself. Thus the children, both boys and girls, must observe respect toward their elder brothers and sisters, parents, uncles, aunts, and grandparents.

Turning now to a more exact delineation of the relationships within the mal, little more has been done than to rephrase and combine several of the narratives recorded. The first question which might be treated is that of parents and their children. The relationship between a father and his son, as one might suspect from the foregoing, is one of the most important to the former,

his tea or water and a napkin to wash his hands, the father often provides his daughter with gifts of clothing and jewelry. As in the case of the son, the mother is the general confidant of the girl, keeping her secrets and presenting her wishes to the father. Either son or daughter may quarrel with their parents, the former always with the better chance of success. 595

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is extremely gentle, particularly that between grandfather and grandson. "Everyone in the house has great respect for the grandfather. When he arrives, all kiss his hand and he gives them a blessing. If he is old enough, the grandson helps his grandfather and, in summer, carries him at the bed on the roof on his back." The grandmother is held in like esteem. Kissing the hand of such a relative as a token of respect is accomplished in Rowanduz by taking the right hand of the person in question, bending over it and touching the lips to its back, and then pressing the spot kissed to the forehead. If the grandmother is part of the household, she often acts in authority over her daughter-in-law and is much more of a confidant to her grandchildren than the mother, indulging them more than their parents desire. Because a man retains the intimacy with his mother in later life, she can be a much more effective channel of appeal from a grandchild to the father than her daughter-in-law. 603 [582]

The connections between an individual and his uncles and aunts are somewhat varied. "The paternal 604

uncle (ggg) loves the children of his brother as much as his own. If he has daughters, he gives them to his brother's sons as wives. If he is rich, he looks after his nephews and nieces, sending them clothing and money, and supporting the boys in school. If his brother dies, he takes the survivors of the deceased into his own house. When he comes for a visit, he brings gifts for the children. They shout, gathering around him, and the infants are placed on his knees." As in the case of the father and grandfather, boys and girls are expected to stand in the presence of the uncle. The maternal uncle (ghal) is a much rarer visitor in the house, although he is also a potential parent-in-law and guardian. "Sometimes the maternal uncle does not like his sister's husband or her children." In the absence of relatives on the paternal side, a widow may apply to her brother for help. The paternal and maternal uncle (xilk) are much more frequent visitors if they do not live within the house itself. Relations with them do not require any extraordinary deferential conduct. The wives of the paternal and maternal uncles, if they are not consanguineal relatives, are treated with greater reserve. Visits are not ordinarily exchanged between a man and his maternal relatives except on infrequent occasions. When a paternal uncle, his wife, or a paternal aunt arrive, they are taken into the house of the family. In contrast, the maternal uncle or an unrelated husband of the paternal aunt are usually entertained in the [illegible]

604 • [584] [736] [576] [593] [589] 574 604

r guest-room, apart from all of the women of the house. 604 574

The eldest brother occupies a position over his 593
rothers and sisters analogous to that of the father. He hares to some extent in the parental authority and is esponsible for the house when the father is absent. Often e is entrusted with money from which he gives his younger rothers their roshest, "daily allowance," a sum which in- [454]
reases in size with their years. The children are taught o save this money in a box, and whenever the eldest rother makes a journey to Erbil or a similar place he axes their savings and purchases them something they esire. Like that of the father, his word is law and all f his directions must be carried out by those junior to im without altercation. Whenever he enters the room, he younger children are supposed to stand, although his is not invariably done. If the eldest of the children [562]
s a girl, she has much the same authority as a boy, with- ut, however, the formalities mentioned above. She is sually the chief helper of her mother in housework and he care of the younger children. In several families bserved in which the eldest was a girl, the brothers dis- beyed or teased her only at the risk of being punished. There seems to be little of a hierarchy among the younger rothers and sisters, and it cannot be said, as it some- imes is in America, that the youngest is the darling of the family, save in the case in which he is the first boy. 593
The boys learn very early to be jealous of their sisters' 557
honor, not only in protecting them in the usual quarrels 577

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

No religious or ritual 571

mechanism exists for bringing together any group larger than the village, and no symbiotic relations of a practical or ritual nature have been developed.

This organizational form is associated with a strong emphasis on the father's brother's daughter as preferred spouse, and marked tendency to close family endogamy. The strength of emphasis is indicated by (1) expressed norms, (2) relative brideprice, and (3) actual statistical occurrence. 582

(1) Informants agree that paternal cousins have first rights to a girl, and where the father of a girl contemplates giving her in marriage to anyone else, the paternal cousin must first release her by renouncing his claim. Cases of violence resulting from breach of this obligation on the part of the father were collected in the field and have been recorded by others in the literature.[1] Giving one's daughter to a brother's son is further considered thoughtful and proper: the father knows his daughter's spouse well, and will also be able to exert some control over his actions toward her after marriage; marriage should be between equals, and no one is closer in status and sentiments than a paternal cousin. Small children are pleasantly embarrassed when teased for being "in love" with their paternal cousin. The importance of endogamy in maintaining family property is also recognized, though the problem only arises with any degree of gravity where Koranic laws of inheritance, giving stipulated fractions of the estate to female descendants, are strictly followed, and this does not generally seem to be the case. 582 604 605 582 Ko 4:23

(2) It is an agreed privilege for paternal cousins, to less extent also other near kin, to receive the girl at a reduced brideprice. The normal brideprice for village girls ranges between £30-100. Paternal cousins generally pay only wedding expenses. 605 583

(3) The actual frequency of father's brother's daughter, and other cousin, marriage is high, apparently ranging around fifty percent. The degree of relationship between all living spouses in two normal sized Hamawand villages fall into the following categories: 162

Fa and Mo						
FaBrDa (amount)	MoBrDa (khalaat)	SiDa (gurse)	Other relative	Unrelated, in village	Other village	Total
9	1	2	3	2	4	21

Taking the normal fluctuations in size and sex distribution of sibling groups into account, this probably approximates the maximal frequency that marriage with actual, non-classificatory paternal cousin can reasonably attain.

1 Eg. W. R. Hay, *Two Years in Kurdistan* (London, 1921), p. 71.

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

183 Where the cost of marrying an unrelated, "stranger" girl is so high and the normative preference for near kin clear, the inducement for the young man to seek a bride among his cousins is evident. Consequently, the young men make the "right" choice though they appear subjectively to feel, and invariably express the opinion, that they are entirely free to seek any bride they might wish. The problem in this situation centers around what the motivation of the girl's father is, that he should forego his right to a brideprice which, to the Kurdish farmer, constitutes a minor fortune. Or put somewhat differently, the central problem is: what are the advantages gained in this system by giving one's daughter to a brother's son which compensate one for the loss of the brideprice.

The answer would seem to lie in the political structure. In the Kurdish lineage system, all groups are subject to a constant pressure towards segmentation and fission, unmodulated by the interlocking circles of identification normally associated with segmentary descent systems (among the Nuer, territorial vs. descent groups, cross-cutting age-grades; among Tallensi, further the ritual collaboration between lineages, etc.). This pressure is painfully evident in factional activity within the villages, and emerges in all first-hand descriptions of Kurdish life.[9] Kurdish villages are characterized by a constant struggle for political power on the part of a majority of the adult men, at times even women. Such political power is proportional to the number of riflemen one can mobilize to support one's claims. In a patrilineal lineage system, a man can expect political support only from his agnatic relatives, those who by descent belong to his political sub-section; and the factions in the village tend to be alignments of the younger men of a small lineage segment around an older leader. These segments consist primarily of brothers, sons, and brothers' sons. The relation to the latter is most critical: it crosses the first potential line of cleavage between collateral branches. If a man alienates his nephews by refusing them their traditional rights, he loses their political support. If he, on the other hand, gives them his daughters in marriage, the ties are reinforced and lineage solidarity maintained. The girl's father creates an obligation on the part of his brother's son to give him political support by exempting him from paying the brideprice. No other son-in-law can, in the lineage system, fill this role as political supporter; consequently they must invariably pay brideprice. The transaction may thus be regarded as constituting a type of delayed exchange: the father receives political allegiance in his lifetime from his brother's son in return for the daughter which he gives him. In this way, the patron of preferential father's brother's

9 Eg. C. J. Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan* (London, 1836); E. B. Soane, *Through Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise* (London, 1926); May, op. cit.

daughter marriage serves to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system.

593 passed on in the male line. But the mother does generally retain some recognized and actual authority by virtue of her parental position. There is a general feeling that the ties between mother and son should be close and intimate. In the case of divorced or discarded plural wives, the woman will normally, if she has an established son, become an honored member of her son's household. But the nominal succession should certainly pass in the male line, and only where there is no male member above puberty will the household carry a woman's name. If only for economic reasons, this is a quite rare situation.

The daughter is entirely subject to her father's authority. He functions as her marriage guardian, and even has the right to impose marriage on her — according to Islamic law only before puberty, but in practice also later. The position as marriage guardian — giving the right to receive the brideprice — passes on the death of the father to the girl's nearest male agnatic relative. In *Shafi* law, that is first to her grandfather, second to her brother. Only father and grandfather, however, have the legal right to impose marriage.

Between brothers, relations of supra- and sub-ordination are determined by relative power. In the early years, this means physical power, and is closely connected with relative age. There is, however, no rule of succession, either primo- or ultimogeniture, and the relative positions of brothers are at any time decided by de-facto power and force of personality.

603 This positional system has further kinship ramifications, best seen in connection with the actual system of kinship terminology, Diagram 2. a) The child's relations with the grandparents are usually mediated through one of the parents, e. g. the son accompanies his mother on her frequent visits to her paternal household. In this situation authority and control over the child remains with the mother, and the relationship grandmother-grandchild is generally indulgent. The term *mamik* or *nanna* then also has an extended usage as a term of endearment to all older women of the village. Relations with the grandfather, especially the paternal grandfather, will be
• 604 more tempered with respect. b) The other special relationship is with *mam*, father's brother. This term again is used in an extended meaning towards older men to indicate a relationship of closeness

[text continues on p. 32]

604 but respect. This and the above use of *nanna* is however in no real sense of the term a classificatory usage, any more than is 'sis' in colloquial American or *farbror* in Swedish, the latter having connotations very parallel to *mam*. As a potential father-in-law, ones *mam* is an important relative, and a friendly relationship will secure one's right to his daughter and release from brideprice obligations.

171 604 An interesting contrast to Kurdish intimacy with FaBr and his descendants is evident from Afghan usage, where the word for MoBr.'s children is synonymous with friends and FaBr.'s children with enemies, this in spite of a probably otherwise similar social structure.[1]) The general explanation for such strained relations with FaBr.'s relatives lies in the potential conflict connected with inheritance, where MoBr.'s children are less important as competitors. The prevalence of FaBrDa marriage in Kurdish villages undoubtedly serves to gloss over these tensions.

606 Affinal relations are, as far as the male is concerned, of secondary importance, and the basic terms for spouse's father, mother, adult brother and adult sister suffice. The woman, except for these terms, adopts the kinship designations of her husband, usually with the given name of the person appended. Children are called by their given names. — The general nature of in-law relationships is indicated by the proverb: *Khoda bida mergim, zewa weka bergim* = God let me die, rather than be dependent on son-in-law (or brother-in-law).

Certain affinal relations are designated by suffixing *-xbin* (woman) to the term for their agnatically related husband. The resulting terms, *ewoxbin* (= wife-of-FaBr) etc., seem to be used as actual kinship terms. The parallel usage of 'husband-of-so-and-so' is purely descriptive and does not constitute a term in itself. Son's wife is called «bride» and husband of sister and daughter is called «groom».

601 A striking feature of the Kurdish kinship system is the small number of basic terms, totalling only twelve. The group of relatives covered by these terms is a bilateral kin group, and includes all individuals in the elementary families of which ego or ego's parents

[1]) I am indebted to Prof. Morgenstierne for drawing my attention to this contrast.

9

107 Accordingly the description which follows applies primarily to Area A of the foregoing description. Prior to the opening of the road it might indeed have been possible to treat this district as a single culture area, virtually self contained. Under present conditions however economic factors and the external political authority link the three regions, A, B and C, closely together. I will attempt to make clear as I proceed the degree to which generalisations derived primarily from a study of the Balik and Dergala tribes can be regarded as generally applicable to the whole region. I will conclude this section with a rather more detailed description of the groups inhabiting Area A. Map 2.

101 The Soran group whose full tribal name is Sorani Bagzawada (i.e. "descendants of the Bags of Soran") are few in number. The 882 group is a single unit (taifa), the paramount of which is the Agha of Dergala - Mir Hamid Amin Beg.

The Balik tribe is a very much larger group and is subdivided into three clans, usually named Mullasherifi, Shevdini and Sukri, of which Mullasherifi is much the largest. The Shevdini group centred around Rayat has a considerable degree of cohesion and accepts the Agha of Rayat - Ali Agha - as paramount. The Mullasherifi on the other hand though nominally owing allegiance to the Agha of Walash - Sheikh Mohammad Agha - appear in practice to be split into three groups centred on Walash, Rust and Gelala. The Sukri are a small group about which I know nothing. Sheikh Mohammad Agha by virtue of his position as head of the largest clan is considered by the government to be Agha paramount of all the Balik; at the present time however his authority is nominal outside the immediate sphere of influence of his own village of Walash.

794 The two villages of Khalan and Khirm i Sheikh require special
162 mention. (See Hay pp. 255 and 257 where Khalan is called Dar ul Aman).
439 The heads of these two villages,*Sheikh Alauddin and Sheikh Obaidullah, are leaders of the mystic sect known as Nakhschwandi, which has its basis in Bokhara. The villages are really hospices belonging to this order. Apart from the adherents of the religious community the population is very mixed, traders predominating. The marked prosperity of the community is not hard to understand. At least two large armed convoys of smugglers passed over the border even during the course of my three day visit. They even offered to take me with them, but discretion unfortunately prevented my acceptance.

• 604 * These two individuals described as 'cousins' by Hay are really nephew and uncle respectively although nearly the same age. It is the nephew, Alauddin, who has the greater reputation and influence.